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PROBLEMS OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

THE EDITORS

MOZAMBIQUE AND LIBERATION

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BRAZIL AND PARAGUAY—COLONY AND SUB-COLONY

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Marxism and Literary Criticism

PETER CLECAK

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CONTENTS | VOLUME TWENTY NUMBER SEVEN DECEMBER 1968

REVIEW OF THE MONTH: Problems of the Student Movement 1
FRELIMO AND THE MOZAMBIQUE WAR OF LIBERATION
by Glyn Hughes 7
THE NEW FRONTIERS by Eduardo Galeano 19
FINANCE CAPITAL OR CORPORATE CAPITAL? by James O'Connor 30
WORLD EVENTS by Scott Nearing 38
BOOKS: A UNIQUE SLICE OF HISTORY by Guy Endore 44
MARXISM AND LITERARY CRITICISM by Peter Clecak 51
CORRESPONDENCE: THREE STAGES OF REVOLUTION by Pierre Vallières .. 60

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LEO HUBERMAN

(October 17, 1903—November 8, 1968)

The following is an abridged version of a news release issued by the MONTHLY REVIEW *office on November 11.*

Leo Huberman, co-editor and co-founder of MONTHLY REVIEW and Monthly Review Press, died in Paris on Friday, November 8, of a heart attack. He was 65 years old. Paul Sweezy, his associate on the magazine and the Press, was with him on a trip to arrange for French and German editions of MONTHLY REVIEW, which already appears in Spanish and Italian translations.

MONTHLY REVIEW was founded in 1949 as an independent socialist magazine and during its nearly twenty-year history has become increasingly influential as one of the world's leading Marxist journals. In 1966 the magazine and its editors were given the Omegna Award, a literary prize, previously won by Jean-Paul Sartre and Frantz Fanon, awarded by a committee of former Italian resistance fighters. The award citation read: "The fundamental genius of these two writers lies in a Marxist humanism.

(*Continued on inside back cover*)

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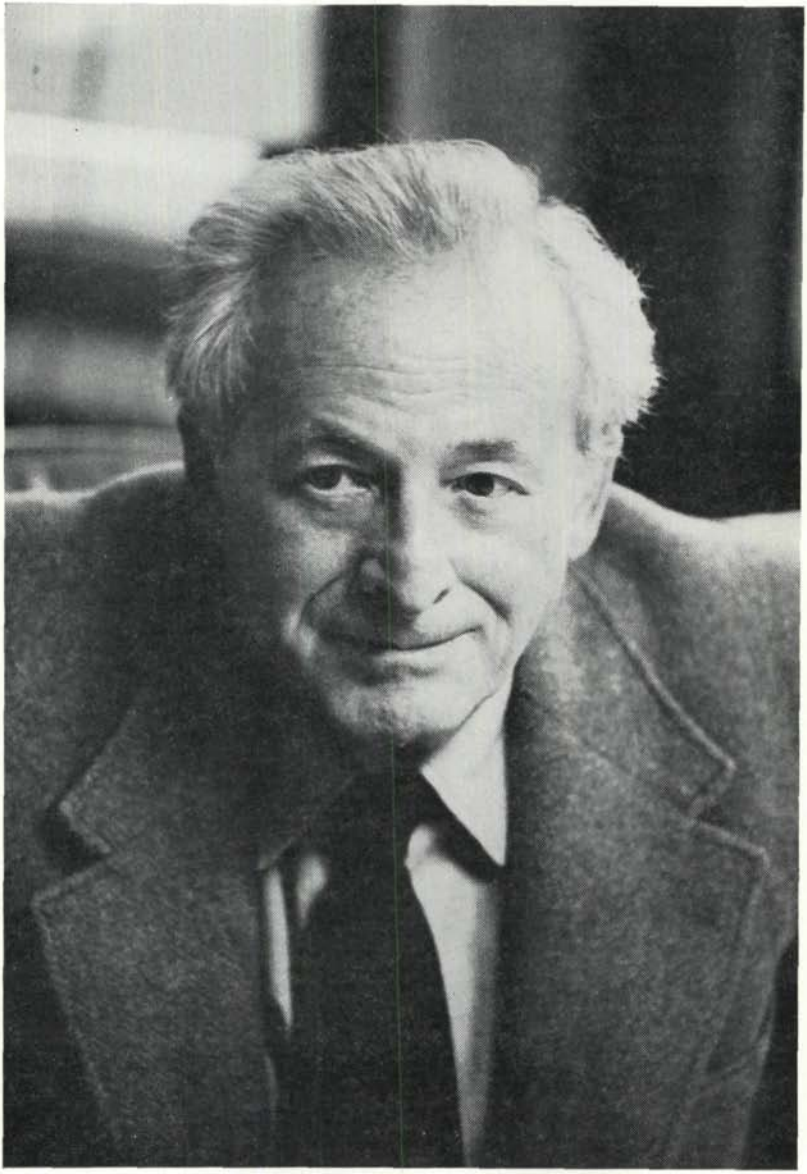

LEO HUBERMAN

(October 17, 1903–November 8, 1968)

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PROBLEMS OF THE STUDENT MOVEMENT

The revolutionary movement in this country today is largely concentrated in two sectors of society: the black ghettos and the colleges and universities. In both sectors the revolutionary element is in a minority, probably a quite small minority, but in each case it is an active and articulate minority which commands the sympathy of many outside its ranks and under certain circumstances can count on their rallying to its side. Black revolutionaries and student revolutionaries share an ideology which is emphatic and explicit in rejecting the capitalist-imperialist system with its inherent evils of oppression, exploitation, inequality, racism, and war.

Alongside these important similarities, however, there is at least one very striking difference: black revolutionaries know what they want not only in the long run but also in the immediate future, whereas student revolutionaries know what they want in the long run (to replace capitalism with a nonrepressive, egalitarian society) but are confused and divided over short-run goals.

The clarity of black revolutionaries about their immediate aims is a product of the history of the last 15 years. During this period it has been proved to them by bitter and repeated experience that racism is an integral and ineradicable part of capitalism-imperialism: the high hopes aroused by the Supreme Court's school desegregation decision and the Montgomery bus boycott have been dashed; the civil rights movement has failed. From this situation has come the merging of black radicalism and black nationalism with a long-run goal of revolution and an immediate goal of black control over black communities. As we argued in this space on an earlier occasion, there is no necessary contradiction between these goals; and this is a source

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of enormous potential growth and strength for the black revolutionary movement.*

The student revolutionary movement, on the other hand, has not had any similarly urgent immediate goal forced upon it by the pressures of history, and it has been unable to articulate a short-run program which could give coherence and meaning to practical everyday activity. The result has been a dual tendency, which is only apparently contradictory, to plunge into activism without any clear conception of goals and/or to lose interest and drop out. In these circumstances it seems clear that the student revolutionary movement ought to be thinking seriously about whether it is possible to develop a meaningful short-run program which is compatible with long-run revolutionary goals. Unless this problem can be solved, it is hard to see how the movement can advance much beyond its present stage of episodic outbursts on specific issues. Such outbursts—for example, at Columbia last spring over the Morningside Heights gymnasium and the Institute of Defense Analysis issues; or, at the time of writing, over the Eldridge Cleaver lectures at Berkeley—are a good thing and usually have positive educational value in helping to expose the nature of the system. But they come and go without leaving any significant organizational residue and with uncertain effect on the extent of the revolutionary commitment of the participants.

We frankly do not know whether an action program of the required kind can be developed, but we do have some ideas which we would like the student revolutionaries to consider for whatever they may be worth.

We start from certain premises which it will be well to make explicit at the outset. First, there is no revolutionary situation in this country today, and there is not likely to be one for as far ahead as it is useful to try to plan. Second, the colleges and universities are part of the system and will serve its purposes as long as it exists. Third, young people who want to be effective, whether on the system's own terms or in opposition to it, must get as good an education as possible, and this means they

* "Reform and Revolution," MR, June 1968.

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have to make the best they can of the colleges and universities that are available to them.

If these premises are accepted, it follows that it makes no sense to aim at the destruction of the existing institutions of higher education: that would be a rational goal only in a revolutionary situation and as part of a comprehensive plan for getting rid of the system as a whole. But this does not mean that the colleges and universities have to be accepted as they are, or that students have no choice but to submit passively to the kind of "processing" to which they are subjected. They can concede that the institutions are part of the system in which they are obliged to live for the visible future and at the same time (a) work to reform them, and (b) use their facilities for revolutionary ends.

When we speak of reforming the colleges and universities, we are of course under no illusion that they can be turned into anti-capitalist instruments. But they don't have to be the sink-holes of specialization, triviality, vocationalism, boredom, and corruption most of them have become. The oft-proclaimed ideals of a liberal education—to discover and teach the truth without fear or favor—are not bad; in fact, compared with monopoly capitalist realities they are pretty good. A person who has really had a liberal education has a sense of history, understands scientific method, and knows that the great philosophers and social thinkers of the past have maintained a questioning and critical attitude toward the world around them. Such a person is not yet a revolutionary but he is a lot more likely to become one than the semi-illiterates and high-IQ idiots our present system of higher education turns out in such quantity.

What we are suggesting is that revolutionary students should take the lead in denouncing—concretely as well as generally—the educational fare which is served them in our colleges and universities, and in demanding that educators who profess liberal ideals should live up to them. This would involve fighting on many fronts: for improving teaching staffs, including the hiring of more radicals; for strict respect for academic freedom; for faculty-student control of educational matters, confining trustees and administrators to financial and housekeep-

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ing functions; and much besides. Such a program would by no means exclude confrontations with reactionary administrations of the kind that took place at Columbia last spring. On the contrary, it is only through such confrontations that gains are likely to be won. The point is that there would be a clear program which everyone could understand, to which the confrontations could be related and by which the extent of victories or defeats could be measured.

Up to this point the course which we are advocating for revolutionaries should be acceptable to liberals and even many conservatives who are disgusted with the mish-mash which goes by the name of higher education in this country today. Is this a bad thing? Not at all. Forming and fighting in a united front for concrete gains is always a good thing, provided it is done in a principled way and does not lead to the abandonment or denial of revolutionary goals. In such struggles revolutionaries can show themselves to be the best and most reliable upholders of common interests; they can win the respect and admiration of their less advanced fellows; they can make contacts and friendships which can be the entering wedge for political conversions.

But of course the fight to reform the colleges and universities within the framework of the present system is not enough. There must also be made available to those who are ready for it and need it opportunities to get a revolutionary education: not only to acquire a sense of history but to comprehend history as class struggle; not only to understand scientific method but to understand scientific method as dialectics; not only to accept the desirability of a critical attitude toward the world but to recognize the necessity to change the world. The transition from a liberal world view to a revolutionary world view is a difficult one; and it is axiomatic that the colleges and universities, no matter how thoroughly reformed, are not going to help anyone to make it. So the task will have to be undertaken by revolutionary students (and faculty members) on their own, making optimum use of the facilities (meeting rooms, libraries, etc.) which the academic environment makes available to them. This means organizing and staffing a parallel, though

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of course much smaller, curriculum open not only to members of the academic community but also to others who feel the need for an educational experience which capitalist society will never offer them. Some efforts along these lines have already been made both here and abroad, but in a scattered and uncoordinated way. We suggest that the student revolutionary movement should study these efforts, emulate and develop the promising ones, and launch new experiments to meet the particular problems of a wide variety of academic and community settings.

We will no doubt be accused of ivory towerism for urging the desirability of a coherent program centered inside the colleges and universities. To this we would reply simply that there is nothing incompatible between such a program on the one hand and activities directed to outside problems on the other—draft resistance, the wider struggle against war and imperialism, assistance to revolutionary movements abroad, community organizing, etc. On the contrary, a serious student revolutionary movement has to be engaged on all these fronts. (This does not mean that every member has to do everything: in a revolutionary movement, as in any complex undertaking, there has to be a certain amount of specialization and division of labor.) We have emphasized the need for an "internal" program because it seems to us that this is what has been most conspicuously lacking up to now, and because we cannot see how a revolutionary movement centered in the academic world can grow, numerically and ideologically, if it has no program relating to the great problems of teaching and learning. The question, as we see it, is not *whether* revolutionaries should be concerned with these problems, but *how* they can deal with them in such a way as to make themselves better revolutionaries and win over more people to their side.

One final point. It is often said that students will never be able to make the revolution themselves, and that only through an alliance with the working class can they hope to be effective in the long run. Since wage-workers and salary-workers below the managerial level make up the overwhelming majority of the economically active population, this is certainly true:

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indeed it might be said to be a truism. But it does not get us very far. The real question is how students can make contact with workers and influence them in a revolutionary direction.

There are probably many answers to this question and certainly a lot of work to be done to find out which are the best ones. All we want to do is suggest that one obvious way to proceed seems to have been largely overlooked.

As of 1965, there were nearly 5.6 million students enrolled in more than 2,000 institutions of higher learning.* Most of these students are going to be workers after they graduate, and a large proportion of them are at non-prestigious urban commuter universities, junior colleges, and small private colleges scattered around the countryside. There is no radical movement to speak of at these institutions; most of the students reflect the upper-working-class and lower-middle-class backgrounds from which they come, which means that they tend to be bigoted and also parochial in their outlook; and unless something happens to them in their years at college, most of them will be carriers of similar ideas and attitudes into the various strata of the working class (white-collar, relatively highly paid) into which they move after graduation. Is it not likely that the student revolutionary movement has a better chance of reaching these people and influencing them in the right (i.e., left) direction while they are students than later on when they are back in their conservatively oriented communities? At any rate it is a theory which seems worth testing on a far larger scale than anything that has yet been attempted.

(November 2, 1968)

* *Statistical Abstract of the United States,* 1967, p. 133.

Men fight and lose the battle, and the thing they fought for comes about in spite of their defeat, and when it comes, turns out not to be what they meant, and other men have to fight for what they meant under another name.

—*William Morris, Dream of John Ball*

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FRELIMO AND THE MOZAMBIQUE WAR OF LIBERATION

BY GLYN HUGHES

7th September: A group of thirty enemy soldiers left Vila Cabral, commissioned to capture the refugees who were escaping from Luluka village. Our guerrillas received the information and planned an ambush. Twelve enemy soldiers were killed and many others wounded. One of our comrades was killed.

The pattern is familiar. A few stark words to describe a successful guerrilla action that might have taken place in any of a dozen developing countries in the world. It is in fact a communiqué from the Mozambique Liberation Front—FRELIMO—which since 1964 has been carrying out an increasingly successful war against the Portuguese colonial government.

Although the Portuguese claim to have controlled Mozambique for the last 450 years, real Portuguese influence, except over a few coastal ports, is much more recent. It was not until the 1890's that the area now known as Mozambique came under effective Portuguese control, and this period marks the beginning of modern Portuguese colonial policy. Modern Mozambique is a long strip stretching 1,250 miles up the east African coast, traversed by the Limpopo and Zambezi valleys. To the south it is bordered by South Africa, to the north by Tanzania, and to the west by Malawi, Zambia, and Rhodesia.

The Portuguese in Mozambique followed a course similar to other European powers in Africa: vast areas of land were given over for "development" to private companies, a network of roads and railways was built to carry produce to the coast, and Portuguese farmers were encouraged to emigrate. Meanwhile, heavy taxation, neglect, and the forced labor system ensured the stagnation of African agriculture. The policy of emi-

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gration met with limited success: the present white population of around 100,000 represents only about 2 percent of the total population of Mozambique.

Two other colonial policies are important because of their bearing on the development of the liberation movement. The system of "contract" labor is designed to fulfill the demand of the agricultural estates for a cheap and plentiful labor supply. Every African male between the ages of 18 and 55 is liable for contract labor unless he can prove that he is otherwise gainfully employed. Recruitment is either by licensed recruiters who receive so much per head, or by the village chiefs who are instructed to round up malingerers and tax-dodgers. It can be appreciated that there is much scope for corruption at the recruitment level. The recruited laborer may be required to work on a Mozambique estate or he may be sent to South Africa or Rhodesia. Exporting surplus labor provides an important source of revenue for the colony, as the state receives about $6 per head, paid in gold; and the colony's balance of payments benefits by the income which the workers send home or bring back at the end of their contracts. In further payment for this cheap labor source, South Africa has agreed that 47.5 percent of the sea-borne traffic to the industrial Witwatersrand area of Johannesburg and Pretoria should pass through the Mozambique port of Lourenço Marques rather than through South African ports. An incidental, but most important effect of the contract labor system has been to cement national opposition to the Portuguese regime. As workers are pushed around the colony or into neighboring countries at the whim of the authorities, so their viewpoint has been widened, their solidarity increased, and tribal barriers broken down.

Apart from the migrations of contract laborers, Mozambicans have been fleeing from Portuguese rule for many years into neighboring countries such as Tanzania, Malawi, and Zambia. Today these exiles form a solid backing for FRELIMO activities and provide recruits for the liberation struggle. FRELIMO itself was formed outside Mozambique, mainly by Mozambican exiles (voluntary or otherwise), and for its first

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two years operated mostly outside the country. Its provisional headquarters are still in Dar es Salaam.

The second key Portuguese policy concerns the education and training of Africans. The almost total neglect of education is indicated by the fact that there are fewer than 500 African students in Mozambican secondary schools out of an estimated school-age population of 2,500,000. Thus, when FRELIMO started to operate in Mozambique, it moved into a virtual vacuum. For Mozambicans there were no political parties, no trade unions, very few cooperatives—even cultural societies had in some cases been suppressed. In addition, the African bourgeoisie was a negligible factor. Even the small traders and shopkeepers were mostly Asian or Portuguese. On the one hand it meant that FRELIMO had to provide the organization to fill this vacuum—very little was ready made. On the other hand it simplified the issue in that there was no possible rival to compete for the support of the peasantry, and no bourgeois or petty-bourgeois indigenous organizations that the Portuguese could mobilize against the guerrillas, or with whom they could form some last-minute alliance. Even the white settler element, small as it is, has been denied any measure of political influence under Salazar's tightly centralized system. The enemy—the Portuguese army and police force—is easy to identify. Mozambican recruits in the Portuguese army have increasingly been found "unreliable" and have been withdrawn where possible from the active areas.

FRELIMO Brings the Struggle into the Open

The war began on September 25th, 1964. Its immediate cause was not a spontaneous uprising such as had taken place in Angola in 1961. It was the result of careful planning and preparation by FRELIMO. FRELIMO itself had been formed two years previously from a union of three Mozambican nationalist movements which had been existing in exile: the Mozambique African National Union (MANU), União Democratica Nacional de Moçambique (UDENAMO), and União Nacional Moçambicana de Independencia (UNAMI). For ob-

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vious reasons they were unable to operate in Mozambique, and by 1961 all three had set up headquarters in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

At a conference in September 1962, attended by 80 delegates and more than 500 observers from Mozambican communities all over East Africa, FRELIMO was formed and a scheme of action mapped out. A Central Committee was set up, and Dr. Eduardo Mondlane was elected President.

From these almost parliamentary beginnings, the Central Committee set out to organize the liberation movement. The resolutions passed at the conference laying down the aims of the organization are general, almost vague. The Central Committee was instructed, among other things:

To promote and accelerate the training of cadres;

To use every effort to expedite the access of Mozambique to freedom;

To develop literacy programs for Mozambican people, creating schools wherever possible;

To encourage and support the formation and consolidation of trade unions, student and women's organizations.

Even the implementation of guerrilla war is not directly stated. The Committee is merely instructed: "To procure all means of self-defense and prepare the people for every eventuality."

Nor is there any evidence at this stage of a consciousness among the delegates that their struggle could be viewed as a part of the world liberation movement. There is a resolution to "seek diplomatic, moral and material help for the cause of freedom in Mozambique, especially from the independent states of Africa, and from all peace and freedom loving countries of the world," but no indication of an international revolutionary consciousness.

It is a thesis of this article that this consciousness has developed and deepened in FRELIMO, forged by the realities of its conflict with the Portuguese and by the necessity of basing its struggle on the support and involvement of the Mozambican peasantry. I shall return to this point later, but for the present

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it is enough to note the apparent absence of a socialist outlook in 1962.

The period between 1962 and 1964 was one of preparation. On the military side, training camps were set up in Tanzania. To raise funds, Mondlane flew to America, Europe, and China. Progress was made in education by sending a number of Mozambican students abroad on scholarships, and by setting up in Dar es Salaam the Mozambique Institute which provides primary and secondary training for refugee students. In Mozambique itself, some political preparation went ahead with the formation of cadres, laying the groundwork for future contacts between the villagers and the guerrillas.

In 1964 FRELIMO units were first infiltrated from Tanzania into Cabo Delgado and Nyasa, the northernmost provinces of Mozambique. From the beginning the guerrilla tactics have been manifestly correct, and the war has followed an orthodox pattern, with ever-widening contradictions between the colonialist forces and the peasantry. To start with, FRELIMO confined its tactics to the ambush, and the occasional hit-and-run assault on a Portuguese post. Northern Mozambique is mostly undulating bush country, fairly thickly populated on the coastal plain, but more sparsely in the interior. Roads are few and poor. The Portuguese administrative and police posts are confined to the towns, which themselves are widely spaced. In short, conditions are good for ambushing troop detachments as they move from post to post. After an ambush the guerrillas can slip back safely into the bush. In this way the guerrillas were able to score some quick and satisfying successes with very few casualties. Their own morale improved as the Portuguese forces became increasingly demoralized. Realizing their impotence against these tactics, the Portuguese have resorted more and more to intimidation and terrorism. Cases of Portuguese atrocities are well documented, and their savagery increases the more frustrations and humiliations they suffer. A recent FRELIMO bulletin reports a statement by Joanina Mbawa, a girl whose village in Cabo Delgado province was burned in a Portuguese reprisal:

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The Portuguese came one day to my village. There were PIDES (secret police) and soldiers. They killed my sister, who was pregnant, opened her womb and took the child out. They killed one man, opened his stomach and put the foetus in it. And they started laughing madly. They arrested others, including my father and brother, 23 years old. They took them to the post, and we never saw them again. I escaped, with a brother 5 years old, because I could hide in the bush.

Joanina Mbawa is now fighting with the FRELIMO forces.

Apart from terrorism, the Portuguese have also retaliated with bombing raids on villages, crops, and suspected guerrilla camps. Since the guerrillas are seldom concentrated in large numbers, it is the non-combatant peasants who suffer most from these raids, which further increases the contradictions between the population and the colonialists. As their strength increased, the guerrillas began to attack Portuguese outposts and camps, using bazookas and heavy machine guns. These attacks have further reinforced the initiative that they hold in the war.

It is now four years since the start of the war, and FRELIMO has established effective control over the rural areas of the two northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Nyasa. In March of this year, the front was reopened in the western province of Tete, after its closure in 1965 due to difficulties in supplying the guerrillas. It is too soon to say how successful this new offensive will be, but it is of considerable strategic importance, as it brings FRELIMO within striking distance of the new Cabora Bassa dam project on the Zambezi. Through this project, which is receiving massive support from South Africa, Portugal aims to plant a million white settlers in the Zambezi valley and open up this hitherto undeveloped region. If FRELIMO can frustrate this plan by gaining the initiative in this area, it would be a significant victory for the liberation forces. The importance attached by South Africa to the Cabora Bassa project is indicated by the fact that two battalions of South African troops have recently been reported to be stationed on the Zambezi in Mozambican territory.

While extending its military operations further south,

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FRELIMO is already putting into operation programs of reconstruction. At present the liberated and semi-liberated areas comprise some 75,000 square miles with a population of 800,000. The reconstruction program is divided into three parts: economic activities, health, and education.

In agriculture, production of cotton and sisal, which was compulsory under the Portuguese, has been discontinued. The land freed in this way has been redistributed for food production. The peasants have been eager also to increase their holdings, so new land has been brought under cultivation, with the help of tools distributed by FRELIMO. There are no figures for output, but FRELIMO claims that, in spite of air raids, production has risen substantially in the liberated areas. There seems no reason to doubt this claim. As they say quite simply, "Now that the people cultivate the land in order to produce what they need and want, they work more and produce more."*

In some areas producer co-operatives, which had been suppressed by the Portuguese, have been re-established. During 1966 small quantities of seeds and nuts were exported, and it is planned to increase this trade, and to reorganize local production of iron, silver, copper, hardwood, and rubber.

The medical program entails setting up clinics, at present staffed by 400 medical aides who have been trained either in Mozambique or at the Mozambique institute in Dar es Salaam.

In education, too, substantial progress is being made. Apart from the Mozambique Institute, primary schools and literacy classes have been established in Tanzania in the refugee communities. In the liberated areas of Mozambique there are now 10,000 children in primary schools. In Cabo Delgado province there were 39 schools under the Portuguese; now there are nearly 100. In spite of acute shortages of teachers and materials, the number is steadily rising.

At the end of July this year at a party conference held for the first time in Nyasa province, the existing FRELIMO leadership was re-elected to office. Delegates from all the liberated

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* *Petition to the U.N. Special Committee for Decolonization,* 1967, p. 11.

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regions attended the conference, and according to reports there was considerable discussion and some criticism of party policy. It is a measure of FRELIMO's success that this conference could take place within Mozambique. It was also a sharp reminder of the enemy's superior striking power that the conference site was bombed by Portuguese planes the day after the delegates left.

The Significance of the Mozambique Struggle

Now that the Mozambique revolution has entered its third stage, that of reconstruction in the liberated areas, involving the day-to-day administration of the lives of the people, it is important to look back on the last four years, to draw some conclusions from the progress made so far, and to see where the signposts are pointing for the future of the revolution.

Régis Debray has analyzed brilliantly in the light of the Cuban experience how the guerrilla force transforms itself into the people's army. Debray emphasizes that:

> Precisely because it is a mass struggle—the most radical of all—the guerrilla movement, if it is to triumph *militarily,* must *politically* assemble around it the majority of the exploited classes. Victory is impossible without their active and organized participation.*

The Mozambique situation differs from the Cuban in some important respects. First, it is a war of national liberation and not an internal class struggle. I have already indicated how the Portuguese, through their colonial policies, have prevented the emergence of a national bourgeoisie. This has simplified the task of the guerrilla in identifying his cause with that of the peasantry.

Debray rightly insists that, in the Latin American context, political organization prior to guerrilla action is futile. Yet in the case of Mozambique, it was both possible and valuable to establish links before the guerrillas moved into an area. I asked Dr. Mondlane how he accounted for the difference. He pointed

* Régis Debray: *Revolution in the Revolution?* MR, July-August 1967, p. 108.

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to two factors: first, the fact that the Mozambique struggle is a war of national liberation, and it is so much more obvious to the Mozambican villager *why* he is suffering than to his counterpart in Bolivia or Colombia; second, the Portuguese administration has very little contact with the people, and informers are not common. There have been cases where the local *regulo* (appointed chief) would collaborate with the Portuguese to save his own position: FRELIMO gains much prestige by climinating such people.

Thus from the beginning FRELIMO has simultaneously recruited fighters into the regular guerrilla army, equipped and trained local militias, and set up the machinery of local administration. For Debray's analysis remains fundamentally relevant in that in Mozambique, as elsewhere, the success of the guerrilla movement depends finally on the involvement of the people as a whole. Success cannot be achieved by maintaining a rigid distinction between the guerrilla force, supplied from outside the country, and a passive peasantry playing the role of spectator. Increasingly, and correctly, FRELIMO is establishing itself as a political force to fill the vacuum left by the withdrawal of the colonial administration. By political education, through the discipline of organizing their own affairs in their own interests for the first time, and above all by active participation in the struggle, the masses are finding their revolutionary role, and in so doing ensure that the revolution is shaped in their own image. To borrow an analogy from Debray, the small motor of the guerrilla forces has set in motion the big motor of the masses.

This widening consciousness within FRELIMO is shown both internally and in the organization's realization of its part in the world liberation movement. The editorial of the FRELIMO newsletter *Mozambican Revolution,* for October 1966, comments: "As the Revolution grows, the political consciousness of our militants reaches greater heights and their understanding of the problems becomes clearer and more correct." As the revolution progresses, problems such as what part women should play in the struggle, or internal divisions based on tribal jealousies, both of which stem from traditional attitudes in

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Mozambican society, can be re-assessed and solutions found within the new context of the revolution.

Similarly, FRELIMO is faced increasingly with the hard realities of international imperialism. In June 1966, the *Mozambican Revolution* editorial stated:

> The economic depression which should logically result for Portugal because of our actions and the struggle that we and our brothers from Angola and Guinea have launched against her does not manifest itself to the extent that we expected. A new element, which might have been anticipated, appeared, acting to alter the balance of forces in a way more favorable to Portugal. This new element is the intensification of imperialist aid to Portuguese colonialism.

This realization has been brought about by the growing support of the Western powers for Portugal in the field of international diplomacy, in industrial development, and in military aid given direct to Portugal or through NATO. Commenting on the mounting investments by capitalist countries in Portugal and her colonies, the same editorial concludes: "All of this means in effect fabulous profits to these countries. Can we therefore be surprised when these countries oppose our independence and support Portugal . . . ?"

It is probably true that the support of Portugal by the capitalist countries comes as no surprise to some of the FRELIMO leaders. In my conversations with Dr. Mondlane, he stressed that he, at least, had expected this development. Nevertheless, the editorials just quoted indicate that for the movement as a whole, the nature of the struggle has brought into the open new factors which were not apparent four years ago when the war began.

The first four years of war have been successful. They have shown that in Southern Africa, as in Algeria and other parts of Northern Africa and the Middle East, the forces of colonialism are vulnerable. But no one in FRELIMO imagines that the struggle is nearly complete, or even indeed that the next four years will be as easy as the last. FRELIMO's leaders appreciate fully that the southern part of Mozambique, south of the Zambezi, will be a much tougher nut to crack than the

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liberated nothern provinces. The Zambezi valley, the ports of Beira and Lourenço Marques, the rail-links with Rhodesia and the mines of the Transvaal, are vital interests not just for Portugal but for South Africa. It is logical to assume that South Africa will not see them fall without a fight. When South Africa enters the war on Portugal's side, FRELIMO expects no help, least of all from the Western powers. The war will continue against mounting odds, but FRELIMO is confident of final victory:

> History is on our side. We have the example of other African states, the support of Africa and of the socialist countries. We have on our side the workers' movements of the imperialist countries . . . and all of these factors will combine to guarantee a favorable outcome for our liberation struggle.

But of course historical necessity never guaranteed the success of any revolution. The widening of the war will necessitate changes in strategy, better training for the guerrilla army, and more sophisticated weapons. It will also force FRELIMO to re-assess its position with regard to the other African liberation movements. FRELIMO has so far not found it necessary to form close links with these groups, which have tended to be split by internal rivalries, and have as yet made small headway. The Liberation Committee of the Organization for African Unity provides some link between the movements, but full cooperation could only come about as a result of a merging of the colonialist and South African forces. South African military police have already been active in Rhodesia against ZAPU forces; South African troops are stationed in Mozambique ready to defend the Zambezi; and South African experts are helping to train Portguese troops. Faced by a ring of increasingly active revolutionary organizations, South Africa must soon make some open response. It is even possible that her reaction will be offensive rather than defensive, with attacks on Zambia and Tanzania. Certainly the elimination of sympathetic governments in these two countries would be a hard blow to the liberation movement throughout southern Africa.

It is too soon to say whether such developments will draw

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the nationalist movements together into a united front against South African fascism. What is clear is that the future of millions of people in Southern Africa may depend largely on the success of FRELIMO in Mozambique. It is a situation which revolutionary forces everywhere must watch closely.

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6. India's Political Structure Just After Independence

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THE NEW FRONTIERS

BY EDUARDO GALEANO

A year ago, in a Baltimore living room, several North American students questioned me closely about the conditions of life in the Brazilian Amazon; Manáus, a city I did not know, seemed to be El Dorado for them. The greatest jungle of the world, cut in half by the mightiest river in the world and watered by its thousand tributaries is, in fact, the theme of a new "American dream": the new Far West that the United States has decided to give to its young, red-blooded, Anglo-Saxon pioneers, to the eager coupon-clippers on Wall Street, and to the Pentagon generals concerned about continental security. The Amazon basin, embracing more than half the total territory of Brazil, a gigantic tropical area lending itself to legend and adventure, not only promises quick fortunes to the foreigners who are treading its soil on the way to conquest, but it also contains, in the words of General Vernon Walters, "vital points for the defense of the Western Hemisphere."

Recently in an Acaray casino, a Brazilian gentleman told me that he had received a tempting offer to establish a new coffee plantation on the other side of the Paraná river in Paraguayan territory. The terms offered amounted to a fabulous gift, whose fruits, naturally, he would have to share with the President, General Stroessner, and his partners. The frontiers of the Brazilian coffee industry are rapidly moving west with the active complicity of the Paraguayan government, which has not lost the time-honored custom of generously conceding to foreigners as many pieces of native soil as remain available. Paraguay is a satellite of Brazil and, to a lesser degree, of Argen-

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The author of a forthcoming MR Press book, *Guatemala, Occupied Country,* Eduardo Galeano is a Uruguayan writer, editor, and journalist. The translation is by Nell Salm.

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tina. And Brazil, as everybody knows, is the favorite satellite of the United States.

The new owners of these vast virtually unpopulated zones of Paraguay speak Portuguese, and the recent arrivals who are exploring and exploiting the uninhabited green labyrinths of the heart of Brazil speak English. *While North Americans are invading the Brazilian Amazon, Brazilians are taking over the Paraguayan territory of the Upper Paraná.*

Siesta and Fiesta

I recall that I asked the group of North Americans why the colonization of the vast lands of the Amazon should not be undertaken by the Brazilians themselves. "It happens to be Brazilian territory, doesn't it? Have you read," I continued, "those news reports that every so often tell about hungry Brazilian peasants taking over lands, about battles with the army and the police, about violent evictions?" I will never forget their answer. It was the private secretary of Milton Eisenhower who replied. He was a typical WASP, a Southerner, very sure that God was on his side—the kind of man who says: "Let me explain to you," and points his index finger at your chest. He was a big guy, quite ordinary, though married to the head of public relations for the Boy Scouts. He felt a great deal of sympathy for the Latin Americans and considered himself a real expert on South America; for that reason he regretted very much not having personal knowledge of so much as an inch of land south of the Rio Grande. He said that, in a way, my questions expressed a fundamental problem: why the North Americans are rich and the Latin Americans poor. "Let me explain to you," he said. And he expounded his thesis: Unfortunately, the Latins do not have a pioneer spirit; siestas and fiestas occupy their time; they would rather hang aimlessly around the cities than work the land. On the other hand, the Anglo-Saxons have embraced the religion of work; they are Puritans; they make sacrifices and are noted for great impossible enterprises; it is their stubbornness, the sweat of their brows, and the strength of their arms that explain the conquest of the West rather than the speed of their Colt .45's before the Apaches.

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Many Latin American governments show by their acts that they share these concepts of Milton Eisenhower's private secretary. More than a century ago, the illustrious Argentine, Domingo Faustino Sarmiento [President of Argentina, 1868-1874], dreamed of forming, "with emigrants from California a colony in the Chaco that may be the beginning of Yankee territory, and one day of a state (with language and all)"; today, not content with dominating and pillaging the whole of Latin America, the North Americans are taking advantage of the unlimited obsequiousness of the generals who rule Brazil in order to open up, in foreign territory, a *"new frontier"* for its own population.

Not Even Ninety Minutes?

The United States has had the conquest of the Amazon in mind for a long time. In 1853 the United States Ambassador in Rio de Janeiro submitted a formal request for the opening of the Amazon River to world navigation: it was proposed that river traffic be directed from Washington, on the pretext that Pará was closer to New York than to the Brazilian capital. Since then, on various occasions, attempts have been made to "internationalize" the zone or to obtain purely and simply, by contract, the right to exploit its riches and to monopolize its communications.

With the triumph of Castelo Branco's military coup, the road seemed clear. The hour had come for the Marshal to return the favors granted during the conspiracy and the victory: *Ambassador Lincoln Gordon requested a lease for the rental of the Amazon for ninety years.* The formulation was too crude; certain influential officials, who had impassively witnessed the complete denationalization of Brazil, demanded that something Brazilian remain in the country: "Not for ninety years, nor ninety days, nor ninety minutes," General Jurandir Mamede answered.

The rumor that Castelo Branco's heir to the usurped presidency, General Costa e Silva, had shown himself to be in favor of reopening negotiations for the lease of half the country whipped up a new wave of indignation in the officers' quarters.

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Costa e Silva replaced the military commands but, it seems, also abandoned the project.

It was no longer necessary. *What the United States government had not obtained by lease, United States capitalists were obtaining by right of ownership.* The "Manifest Destiny" of the Empire, which a century ago had gobbled up the Mexican territories of Texas and California, is opening a gigantic new frontier in South America.

Latifundios For Sale

A dispensation of the Brazilian government now permits entrepreneurs to take possession of immense tracts of land in the Amazon area: half the price is deducted from future taxes and official long-term loans are offered for another 25 percent. The necessary initial investment, then, amounts to only a quarter of the total agreed price. Millions and millions of hectares are passing, in this way, into the hands of private North American companies. In United States newspapers, ads entice capitalists with tempting offers. The imperialist entrepreneurs who have ruined the authentically Brazilian industrialists are not only protected by the ominous agreement on guarantees; their earnings multiply like loaves and fishes, thanks to the destruction of national competition, cheap labor, and the huge market available in Brazil and within the larger framework of the Latin American Free Trade Association; moreover, in exchange for very little they are becoming the delighted proprietors of *latifundios* recently staked out in the Amazon—the present-day version of a terrestrial paradise.

Massive Sterilization

On various occasions the Brazilian armed forces have confessed their inability to control the Amazon. Population dispersion in this immense territory—four million square kilometers for the four million Brazilians who inhabit it—prevents effective vigilance over ownership and exploitation of the land; over the extraction of strategic minerals, gold, and precious stones, and their mysterious disappearance; and over the already ubiquitous presence of foreign "investigators" and "technical"

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Extracts from a typical brochure for potential buyers of land in Brazil.

and religious missions. With the government's assent, however, the North Americans have carried forward a massive campaign of sterilization in the Amazon, the largest uninhabited habitable zone of the entire planet. Two students from Goiás exhibited, not long ago, the proofs: they had accompanied a North American "charitable mission" which was nice enough to immunize

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a thousand women, from Goiás to Pará, against further pregnancies. All the cases were documented, but there are many more: *thousands of women sterilized, to prevent demographic competition from the Brazilians on the new and vast stage of the omnipotent North American dominion.*

Men and Riches

Numerous international or United States organizations have made, or are making, or will make weighty studies, analyses, reports, and inquiries on and into the means for the effective human occupation of the Amazon; they have proposed, are proposing, and will propose diverse forms of "internationalizing" the coveted zone. Meanwhile, the way has been cleared for a multitude of geologists, geographers, and scientists of all kinds to come from the United States. According to estimates by Brazilian military authorities which have been made public, there are more than 10,000 foreign scientists, almost all of them North Americans, operating in the area. The Brazilian Air Force calculates that there are also 250 North American religious missions, although no one has been able to make a serious assessment of their quantity and importance, nor of the activities being carried on by the scientific teams.

The principal temptations are the plentiful reserves of strategic atomic minerals and precious minerals. *Only the United States Army has the necessary information for locating the deposits: by means of aerial photogrammetry, planes of the geodetic division of the United States Army have put all of Brazil into relief. These planes have carried modern instruments which, through emissions of light, pinpoint and measure the breadth and depth of radioactive mineral deposits.* No Brazilian organization, according to the results of an investigation carried out by the newspaperman Roberto Wilson [of Inter Press Service], has ever received a copy of the photographs and the information obtained from them.

Gold, diamonds, precious stones, manganese, tin, lignite, tantalite, bauxite, and many other minerals are the object of clandestine and sometimes open exploitation on a giant scale by foreign enterprises.

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The Dog, the Cat, and the Mouse

Just as the creation of coffee- and cotton-producing *latifundios* during the past century inevitably led to the frustration of possibilities for the coherent industrial development of Brazil, the *latifundios* of the Amazon today accentuate and consolidate the deformations of that country's economic structure, with its little islands of prosperity in the midst of enormous oceans of poverty and its acute dependency on foreign interests. The "Amazon case" should be a cause for alarm and condemnation not only for this reason, but also for its more obvious consequences: Brazil must keep the Amazon if it is to become a nation capable of providing food and shelter for the 260 million inhabitants it will have by the year 2,000. The population now settled all along the length of the Atlantic coast counts on this immense area in the interior of the national territory for expansion.

But the military establishment that has taken over the most important country of Latin America has placed its bets on the sub-imperialist role that the United States has awarded its favorite satellite. They aspire to be, and are, the overseers of a continental hacienda owned by the United States. *To begin with, they are carrying out the project of dominating the Plata basin in the name of the power that, in turn, dominates them.* The struggle to overthrow the enduring Argentine hegemony over Paraguay is taking place within this framework: the Brazilians have been notoriously successful in this endeavor, thanks to the good offices of Stroessner's absolute dictatorship.

A Grateful Servant

After the War of the Triple Alliance reduced to ashes a proud and powerful Paraguay, which had been an American exemplar in the nineteenth century,* Brazil and Argentina not

* Before the war, which took place in 1865-1870, Paraguay had been one of the most prosperous and advanced countries of Latin America. It had its own blast furnaces, its own merchant marine; it was politically and economically independent; land was state owned; and illiteracy had virtually been wiped out. Brazilian, Uruguayan, and Argentine troops exterminated more than a million Paraguayans—five sixths of the total population.

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only snatched 200 thousand square kilometers of territory in Matto Grosso, Formosa, and Misiones but, furthermore, took turns profiting from the spoils of the conquered nation.

The domination by Buenos Aires, which lasted throughout the period of liberal Paraguayan governments in the twentieth century, began to weaken with the dictatorship of Higinio Morínigo [1940-1948] and decayed decisively during Stroessner's reign. In 1940, when the Paraguayan War College was reorganized by Brazilian officials, the then artillery captain Alfredo Stroessner took a year's specialized course in Brazil; the Brazilian generals sent him back to his country with high recommendations and ardent praise: "The ease with which he grasps the instruction given him, in spite of language differences, is remarkable," his teachers noted, and also: "He deserves a great future and will be useful to his country." A few years later, during a conspiracy that was foiled, the Brazilian Ambassador saved the life of the ambitious Paraguayan militarist by hiding him in the trunk of his automobile. General Alfredo Stroessner's subsequent behavior as President of Paraguay proved him to be a grateful servant.

The Shifting Borders

I arrived at the shifting border between Paraguay and Brazil carrying banknotes printed with the face of the defeated Marshal Solano López [killed in the War of the Triple Alliance], but there I discovered that only notes sporting the arrogant image of the victorious Emperor Pedro II had value. The consequences of the War of the Triple Alliance assume, a century later, a burning reality: at least Pedro's men had to pierce the heart of López with a bullet; nowadays Stroessner meekly carries out Costa e Silva's orders.

When the Paraguayan regime created, with a fanfare of drums and cymbals, the Institute of Rural Welfare, pivot of the "total agrarian reform" announced by Stroessner, *he casually revoked the legal regulation which both prohibited the sale to foreigners of areas adjacent to the country's land borders* and limited their occupation. Brazilian laws prohibit Paraguayans from buying a single centimeter of land within a wide fringe of

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150 kilometers on the Brazilian side of the border, but on the Paraguayan side, even lands belonging to the public treasury are falling into the hands of Brazilian *latifundistas*. Carlos Caballero Gatti, one of the presidential candidates in the recent Paraguayan elections, asked the government, without getting a response, why the thousands of hectares of the great publicly owned Reservation No. 10 had been sold. These lands are part of the disputed zone where the seven Guayrá Falls are located.

An office has been set up in Curitiba for the purpose of selling Paraguayan lands to Brazilians; I personally know a lawyer who was invited to establish himself in Asunción in order to handle legal problems that could arise for the new foreign *latifundistas*.

This invading wave that is crossing the Paraná river not only reflects the geopolitical preoccupation of the Brazilians with the control of the area, nor is it simply the result of Brazilian interest in definitive ownership of the extremely important sources of energy that the river offers. Above all, it is the result of a new phenomenon: expansion toward the west of the coffee-growing industry. The noted Brazilian anthropologist, Darcy Ribeiro, has described the process by which the cultivation of coffee has been transferred, along with millions of peasants, from the coast to the forests of the state of Rio de Janeiro, then to Espíritu Santo, later to the forests of Minas Gerais and Sao Paulo and recently to the northwest of Paraná; now it is Paraguay's turn. The coffee-growing *latifundio* is moveable; its rearguard is the desert; the industry ruins the virgin forests and exhausts the land, wresting the black bean from it by primitive means and then abandoning it, carrying away its laborers and riches and leaving devastation behind.

Land Piracy

In Paraguay there is a real conspiracy of silence concerning these matters. The Guayrá Falls, an unexploited Niagara of Latin America, have been brutally usurped by Brazil; but the Paraguayan government itself takes on the task of clubbing the students who organize demonstrations in defense of sovereignty, and zealously keeps under wraps the secret negotiations that

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are underway: it is all under the exclusive jurisdiction of General Stroessner—a man who does not answer questions.

An unusual article appeared late last year in the Asunción weekly *Comunidad* [a semi-official organ of the Catholic Church]. It was signed with initials and touched on the subject discreetly:

> There are areas in northeastern Paraguay, the sovereignty of which has never been in dispute, where . . . Brazilian guards ask Paraguayans to show their passports, where only the Brazilian flag waves, where even in the churches prayers are said only in Portuguese. In the face of the impotence—a mysterious impotence—shown by the national authorities, certain border areas chronically experience the phenomenon of 'shifting landmarks,' nonexistent streams, mountains of variable altitude. . . . Guayrá Falls have simply and unilaterally been annexed to Brazilian territory, with, of course, the excellent justification given by Itamaratí [Brazilian Minister of Foreign Relations], that Paraguay will also benefit, in time, from the rich energy of these Brazilian waterfalls. . . .

The Chain and Its Links

No episode illustrates better the roles played in this chronicle by the United States, Brazil, and Paraguay than what happened when imperialism decided to bathe the streets of Santo Domingo in blood three years ago. The 40,000 Marines Johnson swiftly landed in the Dominican Republic were aided, as the reader will recall, by several Latin American military contingents in their dirty work of assassinating patriots. Stroessner sent the "Marshal López battalion" to the island. (Eloquent name: could a worse betrayal of history be imagined?) *That Paraguayan battalion was placed under the orders of the Brazilian general, Panasco Alvim, precisely at the moment in which his army planted the Brazilian flag in the Paraguayan zone of the Guayrá Falls. Paraguayan obsequiousness parallels Brazilian humiliation: in 1965, the North American operation of conquering the Amazon had already begun.*

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In conclusion, other examples could be pointed out. Paraguay granted Brazil a petroleum concession in its territory, but 95 percent of the business of fuel distribution in Brazil is in North American hands; the Brazilian Cultural Mission controls the Faculty of Philosophy and Education in the University of Paraguay, but the North Americans now manage the universities of Brazil; the staff of the Paraguayan army is "advised" by Brazilian generals, who, in turn, answer to the Pentagon as the echo to the voice; by means of open smuggling, Brazilian industrial products invade the Paraguayan market, but the factories that produce them are now North American property.

In the Philippeens ivrywhere is happiness, contint, love of the shtepmother counthry, except in places where there ar-re people.

—*"Mr. Dooley" (Finley Peter Dunne)*

The freedom of the press throughout the world where capitalists rule, is the freedom to buy up papers, the freedom to buy writers, to buy and manufacture public opinion in the interests of the capitalists.

—*Lenin*

I can quite understand a man accepting laws that protect private property, and admit of its accumulation, as long as he himself is able under these conditions to realize some form of beautiful and intellectual life. But it is almost incredible to me how a man whose life is marred and made hideous by such laws can possibly acquiesce in their continuance.

—*Oscar Wilde, The Soul of Man under Socialism*

Our dear President Johnson has requested an appropriation of 2½ billion dollars to conduct a fight against poverty. The trouble is that the poor people haven't got anything to fight back with!

—*Irwin Corey*

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FINANCE CAPITAL OR CORPORATE CAPITAL?

BY JAMES O'CONNOR

According to Baran and Sweezy, "the larger corporations [have] gradually won more and more independence from both bankers and dominant stockholders, and their policies accordingly [have been] geared to an ever greater extent each to its own interests rather than being subordinated to the interests of a group. We are not of course maintaining that interest groups have disappeared or are no longer of any importance in the United States economy. We do hold that they are of rapidly diminishing importance and that an appropriate model of the economy no longer needs to take account of them." (*Monopoly Capital,* p. 18)

Baran and Sweezy are thus the main protagonists of the thesis that the corporation is the key decision-making unit in monopoly capitalism, due chiefly to its ability to finance an increasing share of new investments, modernization investments, etc. *internally.* In a nutshell, corporate capital has replaced finance capital as the dominant form of capital, to the degree that "finance capital" means bank control of industry, or the dependence of industry on bank capital.

Some Marxist economists in the United States and Great Britain, most notably Victor Perlo (*The Empire of High Finance*) and Sam Aarnovitch (*The Ruling Class*), continue to argue the classic "Leninist" position. There is some evidence, superficially strong but in reality weak, in support of their view. For example, surveying the data on the external obligations of non-financial corporations, Lintner "is impressed by the rather extraordinary stability in the broad patterns of financing used." ("The Financing of Corporations," Edward S. Mason, ed., *The Corporation in Modern Society,* p. 177) Again, according to

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Shapiro and Mendelson, for "all non-financial corporations total debt as a proportion of total assets has grown slowly from 29 percent in 1945 to 41 percent in 1955." (*A Decade of Corporate Investment, 1946-1955,* p. 133) Finally, many studies show that financial intermediaries, first and foremost insurance companies, hold a larger and larger share of corporate bonds, and that non-insurance pension funds hold an increasing share of corporate equities.

In fact, however, these trends fail to pinpoint the sources of *actual* control over corporate capital. In the first place, there is the argument that the top owners and managers of insurance companies, pension funds, etc., not being industrialists, could not conceivably make the important industrial decisions. Secondly, as Baran and Sweezy suggest, the behavior of the top managers of the giant nonfinancial corporations is in fact structurally determined—that is, it depends on the specific market position of the oligopolistic firm. An extension of this argument is that even if "outsiders" succeeded in establishing control, investment, production, pricing, and other major decisions would not change radically. Finally, the finance capital theorists themselves occasionally seem to be confused over the issue—for example, Aarnovitch describes the chemical combine, ICI, as one of the "main groups of British Finance Capital."

This split within the Marxist camp, I believe, is due to the absence of any systematic theory of corporate capital as such. Corporate capital clearly integrates merchant, industrial, and finance capital. Increasingly, all of the *forms* that capital takes—common labor power, technical-administrative labor power, money capital, commodities, etc.—are under the direct or indirect control of the giant corporation. But there have been no systematic theoretical investigations of decision-making by the "corporate capitalist," who necessarily combines and synthesizes the motives of the merchant, industrialist, and banker. As one top bourgeois economist has recently written: "Quite clearly, the financial policies of the industrial enterprises should be meshed with their industrial behavior, but exactly how remains an open question." (Edwin Kuh, *Capital Stock Growth: A Micro-Econometric Approach,* p. 16)

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One approach has been suggested by Dobb. "Is not the essence of Lenin's notion," he writes, "the increasing dominance of financial *influences and motivation* over industry; which may, surely, come about by large industrial combines converting themselves, or spawning off, virtual financial companies as much as by the 'classic' German method of investment bankers financing industry and holding a controlling interest in it. . . ." ("Some Problems Under Discussion," *Marxism Today,* March, 1967, p. 88, italics added)

Dobb apparently refers to the tendency of some large industrial corporations, alone or in combination, to set up financial companies which specialize in consumer credit, home mortgages, overseas investments and loans, and so on. The increasing control of commercial banks by industrial corporations also testifies to the growing interpenetration of industry and finance.

It does not necessarily follow, however, that industrial companies are therefore increasingly dominated by "financial influences and motivations." The major activity of finance capital in the United States in the late 19th and early 20th centuries was the promotion of new industry and the merger of existing industry with the aim of inflating the value of new and outstanding stock in order to reap large, quick profits. Finance capital was largely speculative in character, and depended heavily on "insider information" to maximize the turnover of money capital. The picture of a few finance capitalists manipulating stock, acquiring huge, overnight profits, and frantically putting together and taking apart industrial empires with an eye to immediate financial gain is simply not consistent with what is known about managerial decision-making in the vast majority of large corporations today.

Another limitation of Dobb's approach is related to the new relation between the industrial corporations and the state. As Dobb and others have said, the nonfinancial corporations are as concerned today as ever with the problem of acquiring money capital at the lowest possible cost and hence maximizing surplus value. But they have succeeded in *socializing* many of the most important costs of production through the state finances. In particular, the corporations burden the state educa-

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tional system with the task of transforming common labor power into technical-administrative and scientific labor power, the need for which is rising almost exponentially. Money capital is thus increasingly state capital acquired through the tax system.

Finally, and, in my view, most importantly, Dobb's approach ignores the problem of market-creation, or what Baran and Sweezy call the "sales effort." *The* big problem for the industrial corporations is not the acquisition of money capital, but rather the realization of surplus value—for example, by the expenditure of surplus value realized in the past (that portion of Baran and Sweezy's "economic surplus" funnelled into the "sales effort") in order to realize surplus value in the present.

Focussing on this problem helps to explain one of the main tendencies of monopoly capitalism today, the process of the concentration and centralization of capital—that is, large corporations and industrial monopoly, or, to put it another way, the increase in the absolute and relative size of capitals under the control of a single corporation.

Through acquisitions and mergers the giant corporation controls more and more capital. But the largely internally-financed concentration of capital typically takes the form of the "product extension" merger—that is, the merger of firms producing *different* commodities that use the *same* marketing apparatuses. Because the product extension merger has been the single most frequent type of merger in the recent past, it would appear that the concentration of capital into the "conglomerate" corporation is increasingly governed by sales, not production, cost, financial or other considerations characteristic of the eras of industrial and finance capital. Further, it would seem that industrial monopoly is also governed more and more by sales considerations, not by economies of large-scale production. In the sphere of distribution and marketing, product extension mergers *increase* monopoly. In the sphere of production, temporarily at least, product extension mergers may *decrease* monopoly, due to the fact that existing businesses in the industries penetrated by the giant, conglomerate corporations must face fresh competition. When a General Motors enters into a new

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line of business, established firms which may enjoy some monopoly advantage are faced with new competition pressures.

Clearly, these and related problems should be high on the work agenda of Marxist economists. Some of the many questions that remain partly or wholly unanswered are: Exactly how do typical corporations in consumer and capital goods industries mesh production, financial, and sales decisions? To what degree, if any, do industrial corporations which have spawned off financial companies follow policies which promote the rapid turnover of money capital at the expense of production? To what degree, if any, is there coordination of price, production, sales, and investment policies of nominally independent corporations which historically have been associated with a particular interest group? If the merchandising aspect of corporate behavior is indeed the dominant one, does it not follow that the corporations necessarily sacrifice purely "financial motivations" in order to make consumer credit available at the lowest possible cost? Exactly how do the industrial companies utilize the state finances to simultaneously subsidize commodity demand (via highway construction, for example) and socialize the costs of production? How are the conflicting claims on the state finances by capitalists in competing branches of the economy resolved or compromised?

My feeling is that the corporate decision-maker in the future may be able to lay his hands on any and all of the capital he wants or needs, due to the capital-saving nature of cybernetic (and other modern) high technology, together with the fact that the corporations control the national state and thus are able to mobilize the savings of the people and transform these savings into capital (highways, state colleges, etc.). More, the corporate decision-maker in the future may find that production literally "takes care of itself" (as in the case of electric power industries, for example), due to the substitution of brain labor power for physical labor power, and the ability of the former to develop synthetic raw materials, invent new production processes in the labs, solve complicated production decisions via computers, etc.

The corporate decision-maker may thus be left with one

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main function—merchandising. The corporate accountant, the dependent banks, and the controllers of the state finances (who answer to the corporations) may be the bankers; the scientists and technicians may monopolize the "labor process"; the corporate decision-maker may be totally preoccupied with sales, the "realization problem" dominating his every action.

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WORLD EVENTS

By Scott Nearing

The Economic Outlook

Business activity is one measure of economic health. While there is no general agreement on the matter, economists would be satisfied if business activity advanced at an average rate of 4 to 6 percent each year. More than that would be noteworthy for an established economy like that of the United States. Less than the 4 to 6 percent range would be unsatisfactory.

Business activity in the United States is not satisfactory. *U.S. News & World Report* for November 4, 1968 published a chart on which business activity stood at 135 in January 1965 (with 1957-1959 equalling 100). It stood at the same level a year later. In January 1967 it was near 140. In January 1968 it had reached 150. But by the end of October 1968 the index was again below 140. Thus, through the four latest years, business activity has moved over a small area, ending 1968 lower than it began the year (down from 150 to 135) and less than 4 percent higher than it was four years earlier. If this is not stagnation, it comes pretty close to it.

Another measure of economic health in a private enterprise economy is debt. Over recent years the debt trend in the United States has been steadily upward. The *Statistical Abstract* reported public and private debt as 1,037 billion dollars in 1960; 1,256 billion in 1962; 1,342 billion in 1964 and 1,539 billion in 1966.

This rise in debt has been accompanied by persistent price inflation. On a 1957-1959 base of 100, the index of prices to consumers has moved higher in every year since 1959. In the early years the rise was around one or two points per year. In the last two years it has been 3 or 4 points per year. During the first eight months of 1968 the price index was higher each month than in the previous month. The rise for the first eight months in 1968 was 3.3 points.

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A further complication is the weakening international position of the United States. Year after year United States economy spends abroad more than it receives. The consequence is an international balance of payments deficit, with a corresponding weakening of the dollar in the world market.

Uncle Sam, at home and abroad, is in the spendthrift class. Year by year he spends more than he receives. Each year he covers the deficit by going more deeply into debt.

It is easy for a person with an income of $100 a week to spend $110 and go into debt. It is equally easy for a nation like the United States, with an income of $683,000,000,000 (the national income in 1967) to over-spend that income and go into debt by a hundred billion dollars. In 1965-1966 United States national income increased by $56 billion, from $564 billion to $620 billion. For the same year gross debt in the United States rose from $1,435 billion to $1,539 billion—a difference of $104 billion, or about twice as great as the increase of the national income.

The basic principles of bookkeeping are simple. Spend less than your income and you have a surplus. Spend more than your income and you have a deficit. This rule holds for the very poor as well as for the very rich. It applies equally to the richest nation on earth.

The United States, in 1968, is not only the world's richest nation, but the planet's most gigantic debtor, with a total recorded public and private debt in 1966 of one trillion 356 billion dollars, or $6,700 for every man, woman, and child in the country, an amount that is climbing steadily each year.

Private enterprise economy in the United States is unhealthy. Its trend is unsatisfactory. Is there any chance that the administration which takes office in Washington in January 1969 can or will put its economic house in order?

How "Good" Must "Real Good War" Be?

Economists have been saying that a stagnant or torpid economy could be activated by "a real good war." To support this contention they have cited the Mussolini-African War, the

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Japanese-Manchurian War, the Spanish Civil War in the 1930's, and the Korean War twenty years later.

Today the United States economy is torpid and stagnant, though the Vietnam War has been actively prosecuted for three years. Half a million personnel have been committed to the Vietnam War; the Seventh Fleet and the Air Force have added their quotas; wholesale amounts of equipment and munitions have been dumped into the war-hopper, running the money cost up to more than $25 billion per year. Despite this rather high level of war wastage, United States economy continues stagnant. How can this be explained?

The answer is quite simple. The Vietnam War has not been "good" enough (that is, destructive enough) to be really good. With a Gross National Product running presently over $800 billion per year, an annual expense bill for war of $30 billion is less than 4 percent of the national product. This is too little for effective pump-priming.

This situation presents United States policy makers with a real dilemma. Washington might double war expenditures to $50-$60 billion per year. Would such a figure, of 7 or 8 percent of Gross National Product, give the economy the fillip it needs? No one can be sure until the experiment is made.

One thing seems certain. At its present levels of intensity, the Vietnam War has stirred up a hornet's nest of protest and stubborn refusal to carry on the war effort. The protests are not confined to the United States, but are being made on all the continents, in both developed and developing countries. The protests and demonstrations go far beyond ordinary political opposition. They center about the refusal of youth to travel halfway around the globe to kill, in a war which for them makes no sense.

This situation forces us to add a phrase to our "real good war" formula, so that it reads: the stagnant private enterprise economy of the United States could be pepped up by a real good war, provided the war was stopped before it led into a revolutionary situation.

That is the dilemma into which the bumbling, blundering Johnson Administration has led the United States. That is the

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dilemma which the new administration will face when it takes office in January 1969. Increasingly Washington's choice lies somewhere between economic stagnation mitigated by war escalation and revolutionary changes which all the President's planes, tanks, and bombs cannot halt.

How About China?

Like many of the people I meet in the United States, I am deeply concerned about developments in China. Like them I scan and read the unsatisfactory reports that appear in newspapers, magazines and books. Like many of them, I subscribe to several Chinese publications. I also receive personal letters from friends in China.

Recently I was asked by a brash young man: "Do you follow events in China?" I answered that I followed them eagerly but that my sources of information were few in number and often contradictory.

"Can you give me," he asked, "in three words, your assessment of the Chinese situation?" I thought for a while, then I made this reply.

Before 1958, the year of the Great Leap, the Chinese Communist Party seemed to be substantially united and to have complete control of the country, which was moving rapidly ahead. In three words, it was orderly, secure, confident.

In the present era of the Proletarian Cultural Revolution the Chinese Communist Party is split. A newly set up revolutionary apparatus has replaced the constitutional government. The Liberation Army seems to be the backbone of power. The three words for China today are confusion, division, factional conflict.

In both situations Mao Tse-tung has been the outstanding personality. In the earlier period he was highly respected and often loved. Today he is being glorified, deified, and in some instances worshipped.

This week's mail has brought me another question on China: "Will you tell me just briefly what you know about the struggle between Mao and the other faction: the reason for it, the nature of it, the consequences of it?"

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Here is another person who wants a conclusive answer about the most populous country in the world, which is in the throes of domestic conflict and is preparing for a life and death struggle with world imperialism, spearheaded by the government of the United States. With apologies for my temerity, I made the following answer.

Mao Tse-tung is the outstanding figure in the China of 1968. Until 1949 he was leading a minority group of Chinese socialists-communists-revolutionaries. Ideologically they differed. They agreed on the goal of an independent, self-determining China.

In 1949, on October 1, Mao's Liberation Armies and their backers established present-day China. After years of preparation they adopted the Chinese Constitution. Mao was Chairman of the commission that drew it up. It is a very complete, impressive document.

From 1949 to 1965 some important developments took place in the world.

1. China was unified and stabilized for the first time in more than a century.
2. The Soviet Union was recognized and accepted as Number Two world power.
3. China became, in a limited, incomplete sense, Number Three world power. It is this third point which presented Mao with his alternatives. Mao was head of the Chinese Communist Party and Chief of State until 1958. After that, Liu Shao-chi became Chief of State, with Mao Chairman of the Communist Party. Thus, China was again divided between two groups, inside the Communist Party and also inside China.

   Mao decided to reunite China. The instrument was the Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which scrapped the national constitution and the Chinese Communist Party constitution. To date Mao has won the fight to reorganize the national, provincial, and municipal administrations of China. He is now busy reorganizing the Communist Party, staffing it with members of his own faction.

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These problems were internal to China. Two external problems remain to be solved. The first is the relation of China to the other socialist countries. The second is the relation of China to the rest of the world.

Under the first heading, since 1960 China and the Soviet Union have maneuvered for position in the socialist bloc. China has challenged the Soviet Union ideologically and politically. Mao and his faction in the Chinese Communist Party want to elbow the Soviet Union aside and make the Mao regime the accepted and accredited leaders of the world revolution. The issue is thus far undecided.

If the Mao regime wins this battle with the Soviet Communist Party and succeeds in reuniting China the chances are good for China to become Number Two world power, or at the very least to set up a three-power world.

4. Developments thus far listed are largely Asian. Shaping, modifying, limiting them in a great measure is the fact that during this same period, since 1949, the United States government bought itself into Asia by supporting the French in Indo-China, smashed its way into Korea in 1950-1953 and into Vietnam after 1954, and declared its intention to prevent any part of Asia from becoming Communist. The bloody overthrow of the Indonesian government is the most outstanding example of this type of aggression and subversion. These developments are summed up in two sentences: The United States is *the* Pacific Power. The United States is an Asian Power. This confrontation—inside China, inside Asia, and on the planet-wide stage—is the background for developments in the 1959-1968 struggle for the control of Asia and ultimately of the world.

These are statements of fact plus assumptions and guesses based on projections of present-day trends into the immediate future. They are based on a great deal of little-known and some disputed factual material. Subject to these drastic limitations I am offering opinions and conjectures, some of which will probably be modified by the events of the next thirty days.

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A UNIQUE SLICE OF HISTORY

BY GUY ENDORE

Infidel in the Temple: *A Memoir of the Nineteen-Thirties,* by Matthew Josephson. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1967; $8.95.

Those of us who lived through the Crash and the Depression will be reading Matthew Josephson's book *Infidel in the Temple* on two levels, an eye-level that will be fascinated by what we read on his pages, and a memory-level that will be filled with our own personal reminiscences stirred up in us by the experiences that the author has set down.

For me this period of history never fails to call to mind the contrast between the Chicago school teachers, themselves unpaid for many months, yet taxing their slim funds in order to give lunches to their hungry pupils; while at the same time, in Washington, President Hoover was ordering General Douglas MacArthur to proceed with his tanks and his tear gas against the veterans who had gathered to lobby for the bonus often promised to them by Congress and never delivered—a juxtaposition that has forever crystallized in me the feeling that any people anywhere will always be better than their government, whatever that government may be.

The 30's of this century (if one stretches them just a bit, so as to include at one end October of 1929 and at the other end Pearl Harbor of 1941, in other words a period of something more than twelve years) constitute an absolutely unique slice of history. What a fantastic drama! Opening with the Wall Street Crash that brought the greatest economy the world had yet seen to the brink of catas-

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Guy Endore, author of many biographies, biographical novels, and just plain novels, has recently published *Synanon.* He has been connected with Synanon for over seven years as an "honorary drug addict."

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trophe and eventually involved the whole earth in our death-throes. People who had never heard of our stock market nevertheless suffered from its collapse. Negro workers on African cacao farms or on Haitian sisal plantations, all the way around the globe to Malaysian gatherers of rubber latex, experienced something not much different from what the unemployed bricklayer was having to take in Brooklyn.

For many years American railroads had been averaging the purchase of about five new locomotives a day. In 1932 they didn't buy a single one. The great American automobile industry caught an almost knock-out punch and took 20 years to return to the pre-Crash figures for car production. Only recently an important man in the building industry told me that the slump in construction practically destroyed the craft of stone-carving. "For 15 to 20 years we had no use whatsoever for men who had that skill. They scattered into other lines of work. Had to. And now the kind of richly ornamented buildings that we used to put up, the Grand Central Station sort of thing, we'll never do anything like that again. We wouldn't know where to find the men who could handle it."

Anyone who looks about him can find traces of the tragedy of the 30's still hanging on to us, nearly forty years later.

But that was not the worst of it, as Matthew Josephson's book amply demonstrates. The worst of it came when the solution to the crisis began to be sought in military preparations, and when the flow of blood began to be seen as the cure for an insoluble money problem. That's when the Depression handed us a bouquet of monstrous flowers that still stands on the parlor table of every home in the world.

What it amounts to is this: Who really saved America from a never-ending Depression? Could Roosevelt have done it without the war that Hitler started?

The fact is that when Hitler rose to command the greatest military power the world had yet seen, and gradually turned four continents into a global *place d'armes* where men would die by the thousands and the millions, the Depression was almost automatically over. Incidentally there would be massacres of Jews to exceed all the pyramids of skulls of ancient conquerors, and new kinds of brutalities never seen before, such as the fire storms of Tokyo and Dresden, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

Roosevelt, Stalin, Hitler, Chiang Kai-shek, Churchill, Musso-

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lini, are names of the 30's that still reverberate. All are gone now, all except Chiang who has turned into a harmless zombie. They left us a world that at first glance appears to be utterly different from the depressed world of the 30's, and yet is haunted by the same fear. That is because one question then raised still remains unanswered: Can mankind make for itself a durable economy that does not need war, or the threat of war, to keep it afloat?

One can follow in MJ's pages, particularly in his early chapter "Turning Left," and in a later one called "Arsenal of Democracy," how this problem was muddied and made perhaps forever insoluble. When, during the depths of the Depression, some 14 to 17 million people were unemployed, and the capitalistic mode of production gave no promise of ever again being able to sustain our population in the jobs, the goods, and the services that people needed for their very existence, then the question of how to amend that mode, or with what to replace it, had to arise and begin to afflict the world of the intellectual with mental, emotional, and spiritual anguish.

Gradually the defenders of the status quo reached for an unethical weapon, one that was not an argument but an accusation. This was accomplished by equating capitalism with patriotism, by equating how you lived with where you lived, a non-sequitur if ever there was one. Thus any attempt to amend or replace the existing system was bound to be viewed with alarm as major or minor treason depending on how radical the proposal was, and how imminent the possibility that the population might accept it.

The red scare was on! And while it has fluctuated over the years, it is still with us, dripping its poison into the human mind.

Such was the confusion of tongues that stopped the building of the Tower of Babel. Strewn through a number of MJ's chapters, among others his "Soirée with Whittaker Chambers," and his "The Money Changers Expelled and Reinstated," the author gives us some examples of how the modern Robber Barons had their nails manicured rather than clipped, and how the scholars began to be disoriented in their thinking. So that today, after all our doing and our dying the world is still as dark as ever with respect to some of the most fundamental questions that were posed by that slice of history we've been considering.

One thing, however, the 30's did do for us that can never be eliminated. The 30's opened our eyes.

In the First World War many British soldiers were being courtmartialed for cowardice in the face of the enemy, and many

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were being sentenced very severely, until the same symptoms that led these common soldiers to run away from the battle line in a state bordering on insanity, began to appear more and more frequently in officers coming from the finest families of England. That's when it was time for learned doctors to put on their spectacles and discover a new disease, first called shell shock and then neurosis, a disease due not to lack of patriotic fervor and the will to fight, but to conditions beyond the power of a particular nervous system to take.

In somewhat the same way the poor of America were always here, but since their poverty was considered to be the result of their own shiftlessness, their own ignorance, their own brutish or lustful style of living, there was no great need to feel any special pangs for their condition. It was only in the 30's when people with no lack of education, people with no trace of self-indulgence, began to experience the same affliction as others, it was only then that America found for herself a new set of bifocals and discovered that the existence of poverty was a social phenomnon. No longer was it possible to blame the poor for their poverty, the way some people blamed the Jews for their own massacre by claiming that Hitler's grandmother was Jewish. Scholars and politicians both had to look into our society to find the causes of pauperism.

Thus the 30's put the poor on the stage of history. Just as the 60's are now putting our youth and our Negro population on the same stage. And the social and physical ghettos in which both have been living have been split wide open.

Not that people will understand immediately what they see. Or immediately reach for the right answer. In the 30's people blamed working wives for the Depression and wanted laws to stop that. Others blamed sunspots but wisely proposed no laws. Some thought the Negroes should be sent back to Africa. High taxes were accused. As well as low taxes. Government spending. And government not spending. An indication of how vast was this reaching out for answers, is shown by the sale of five million copies of Napoleon Hill's *Think and Grow Rich*. A tendency towards mythology that is still visible in our acceptance of the story that millionaires threw themselves out of windows when the market fell. They didn't. The fact is that the suicide rate dropped during that period. Later on, when the Depression was with us, the suicide rate rose. But not among the rich. Among the desperately poor.

No matter how misguided, however, no matter how belabored by ridiculous or conflicting theories and remedies, the American

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people by and large kept their sanity and had no difficulty seeing the difference between Herbert Hoover's famous line "no one has starved," and Franklin Delano Roosevelt's "the forgotten man," and they proceeded to elect Roosevelt by majorities never yet seen in the United States.

MJ had an unusual opportunity to witness the drama of the Crash and the Depression and the beginnings of the new world war, both as a participant and an observer. The son of a "respected bank executive," he went to Columbia College; but in his studies he leaned more toward art and literature than toward the profession of his father, and after graduation spent several years in Paris absorbing French history and literature and mingling closely with the avant-garde, and eventually getting out an experimental magazine, *Broom,* which was suppressed in America on the charge of containing "obscene matter," actually material that in our present era of the erotic revolution would be considered laughably mild.

Then, in an about-face, MJ returned to the United States and went to work with a stock exchange firm where he was soon on the way up to a seat on the Exchange, when once again his Bohemian bent toward the arts and his urge to write poetry drew him back to the literary scene.

To earn his living he began to write articles about prominent figures in the business world for *The Outlook,* a now defunct publication. Subsequently he became closely associated with *The New Republic* and wrote for that periodical a series of articles on the boom and its aftermath. Soon he was contributing to *The New Yorker* and to *The Saturday Evening Post* stories about the big wheels of Wall Street and Washington. He thus became the *Infidel in the Temple* who, while himself losing $50,000 in the Crash, nevertheless subscribed to radical political ideas, and was thus able to move freely in several worlds and follow closely the great drama from various angles.

He got to know the Harvard poets E. E. Cummings and Dos Passos, as well as the acting head of the Board of Governors of the New York Stock Exchange, Richard Whitney (who was eventually to go to prison for fraud), and such important people in the world of the New Deal as General Hugh Johnson, head of the National Recovery Administration (which was to go down before a decision of the Supreme Court) and Huey Long, the little dictator of Louisiana (who was gunned down by the son-in-law of a judge

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whom Long had once accused of having married a woman with "nigger" blood).

This work brought MJ into contact with all classes of society. He saw the vast misery of the poor as well as the unscrupulous conduct of the rich who were continuing to accumulate wealth by every kind of device and deceit while the country was fast sliding to hell. This was the period when the incensed American intellectual began to discover the works of Karl Marx, and to move towards various forms of association with the Communist Party which somehow always seemed to be active where the conditions were worst and the poor most in need of help.

The nation was then still in that easy-going period when the Communists were not yet being attacked from all sides, and MJ could report Mrs. Rockefeller purchasing some canvases by left artists. She is supposed to have explained: "Come the Revolution, they will find that I have some Groppers and Ben Shahn's pictures of Sacco and Vanzetti in my house and they will perhaps spare me." Later the attitude towards the Communists and their artists would harden and reach such a point that the Rockefellers would order the destruction into rubble of the famous Diego Rivera mural in Rockefeller Center.

Nothing so incensed MJ as to watch the flocking of the intellectuals to the extremist side during the easy-going era, and then to see them, some years later, kowtowing before the House Un-American Activities Committee, accusing themselves of having been dupes, innocent lambs deceived by crafty Commies. He writes: "John Dos Passos was not really as innocent as he pretended in afterthought." And of Sidney Hook who in his later years would advise the prompt dismissal of any teacher discovered to have been at any time a member of the Communist Party, MJ has this to say: "Thus Hook would have blighted the careers of persons who, like himself, had once been young rebels or 'good agitators' all aflame to set the world aright, as young men so often are. In other words the later Hook would have ruined the youthful Hook and thus deprived society of a popular teacher of philosophy and one of the most determined intellectual defenders of the status quo."

It is however, Whittaker Chambers who most angered MJ, since he had had the opportunity of meeting this congenital liar in situations that clearly revealed him as a psychopath. At one time, in a friend's house where Whittaker was being harbored, he got into an argument with MJ over some aspect of Marxian doctrine, which MJ knew better than Whittaker, although Chambers

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was then going around with a gun in his pocket, claiming to be an agent of the Russians and in danger of his life. On this occasion Whittaker, infuriated, attacked MJ as a "tool of the capitalists and a bourgeois stooge" and implied that MJ had probably been commissioned to watch Chambers and betray him.

Some years later, however, Whittaker was working for *Time* magazine, and wrote a review of MJ's latest book *The President Makers,* and now tore into the author not for being a tool of the capitalists, but just the reverse: an agent of the Russians. "On the first occasion," MJ writes, "he was a fanatic, and on the later one he was still the same fanatic in the conservative cause." And MJ concludes that Whittaker no doubt conducted himself in the same way towards Hiss who had once befriended Chambers and then dropped him. Whittaker bided his time until he could wreak a signal revenge on him.

For himself MJ had chosen the role of being *au dessus de la mêlée.* Not indeed locked up in an ivory tower, but feet on the ground and ready to go anywhere to observe personally what was happening. He remained nevertheless a liberal, although uncommitted, and with something of a leftish slant that surfaced strongly at times, as for example when he saw how the hypocritical Non-Intervention policy of the United States and Britain allowed the Madrid government to crumble before the active intervention of Hitler and Mussolini in behalf of Franco.

And also when he saw Big Business going on strike against the very government that was so busy trying to save it from bankruptcy. That was when the large manufacturers refused to produce war materials until they were in a position to dictate to Washington the terms under which they would consent to make America the "arsenal of democracy." He noted that it was not so much the progressive policies that were bringing prosperity to this country, but the war that he saw breaking out all over the world. And at the same time he glimpsed a danger that has since become so clear: the beginning of a fateful alliance between Big Business and the military. An alliance that has imposed upon the United States a powerful shadow government.

I have only a few criticisms of MJ's very readable book. For a man who left the stock market to write poetry, he rarely lets his prose soar. And for what he calls a "personal memoir," I found the tone often too impersonal. There were a number of places where I sensed him stopping just short of telling something about himself that obviously wanted to come out. Perhaps he has grown

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mellow. Perhaps as the French say: *tout comprendre c'est tout pardonner*. In other words, time or knowledge or both have dampened his righteous indignation against the manicured sleight-of-hand that brought us into the Depression, and the bloody sleight-of-hand that has retrieved us.

MARXISM AND LITERARY CRITICISM

BY PETER CLECAK

Marx, Engels, and the Poets: Origins of Marxist Literary Criticism, by Peter Demetz. (Trans. by Jeffrey L. Sammons.) The University of Chicago Press, 1967; $7.95.

Today the critical intelligence is not encouraged; the men who get on in the world are those who use their intelligence . . . for obscurantist ends.—T. W. Adorno

Perhaps the most political feature of postwar American literary criticism is its almost studied apolitical surface. Most critical discourse oscillates between precise analysis of the formal elements of literature and vague speculations about the eternally lonely condition of Man in an indifferent Universe. There is very little in between. While clarifying the important distinctions between literature and history, critics have rather badly neglected the important connections. The rejection of extra-literary foundations of critical theory and practice has isolated literary critics from the social realities of a society increasingly indifferent to serious poetry and fiction, and from the immediate political realities of the Cold War. And the rejection of extra-literary concerns has, *ipso facto*, assured a widespread ignorance of Marxism among teachers and students of literature.

In light of this general context of American literary study, it is hardly surprising that a major university press—the University

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of Chicago—has published Peter Demetz's crude and simplistic polemic against Marxist literary theory and criticism.

Demetz's aim and scope are impressive: he sets out to discuss "the origins and formation of Marxist literary doctrine" and "to show the dependence of Marxist literary theory upon German 19th-century radicalism and its incipient articulation in scattered writings of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels." (p. v.) About three quarters of the book focuses on the intellectual, political, and literary development of Marx and Engels. In the first two chapters, the author traces the early career of Engels in Germany, attempting to account for his tastes in terms of his temperament and his literary and political relations with the left Hegelians, with Karl Gutzkow and Ludwig Börne while in Germany, and with Thomas Carlyle while in England. In Chapter 3, Demetz begins again, sketching Marx's literary, intellectual, and political progress from his early days as a would-be writer to the threshold of his major theoretical efforts in the mid-1850's. The author examines Marx's and Engels' assessments of such literary figures as Heine, Georg Herwegh, Ferdinand Freiligrath, Eugène Sue, and Ferdinand Lassalle in terms of what he conceives to be a more or less unified Marxist theory of "economic determinism." In the fifth chapter, Demetz concentrates on "the later Engels as a critic of Marxist literary doctrine," arguing that he modified the earlier Marxist conception of the determined role of consciousness (and hence, of literature) in historical development and change. Departing from his essentially chronological perspective in Chapter 6, Demetz delineates the views of Marx and Engels on Shakespeare, Goethe, and Balzac, emphasizing their influence on Soviet literary criticism during the Stalin period.

In the final quarter of the book (Chapters 7-9), the original scope is widened to include a series of hurried sketches of the development of Marxist literary theory from Engels to the present.* Demetz treats Mehring and Plekhanov briefly, then devotes a substantial chapter to Lukacs, and concludes with an eight-page summary entitled "Marxist Criticism: Past and Present," which amounts to little more than a dictionary of familiar names in 20th-century Marxist literary study—Walter Benjamin, T. W. Adorno,

* *Marx, Engels and the Poets* is a revised and enlarged version of Demetz's *Marx, Engels und die Dichter* (Stuttgart, 1959), which focused mainly on the literary theory of Marx and Engels.

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Christopher Caudwell, Kenneth Burke, F. O. Matthiessen, Trotsky, Anatole Lunacharsky, Hans Mayer, and Lucien Goldmann.

Demetz thus undertakes an ambitious task, but the reader initially hopes that theoretical clarity and breadth of conception will compensate for a lack of density. Unfortunately, however, the primary value of the book lies precisely in its biographical detail. For the first time in English, Demetz brings together many significant biographical facts and incidents which reveal the influence of imaginative literature on the intellectual development of Marx and Engels. His discussion of Marx's passionate ambition to become a writer while a student at the University of Bonn is perhaps the most balanced and interesting section of the book. There is a fairly substantial account of Marx's literary output, beginning with his early poems, ballads, and sarcastic epigrams directed against Hegel. Marx wrote parts of a novel, "Skorpion Und Felix" (subtitled "A Humorous Novel"), an ambitious but, according to Demetz, unsuccessful attempt to unite all the virtues of Sterne, Jean Paul, Hippel, and E. T. A. Hoffman in a single volume. After taking up and discarding poetry and the novel, Marx finally composed fragments of a rather tendentious tragedy ("Oulanem"), pasted together out of the conventions of the contemporary Gothic thriller.

Marx's intense interest in literature, first awakened by his tutor, von Westphalen, survived his own literary failures. Turning from creator to critic of literature, Marx made plans to edit and publish a critical magazine dealing primarily with theater. But by mid-1837 a career in literature seemed fruitless to him, and his failure and exhaustion contributed to a severe illness. During his convalescence he turned from literature and literary study to philosophy, and from that time on, though an avid reader of imaginative literature, he wrote only occasional, brief analyses of literary works, usually at the request of friends and younger radicals.

If Marx required two years to discover the inadvisability of a literary career, his father was convinced from the outset. Possessing the calculating rationality of the bourgeois to a fault, Heinrich Marx believed that his son's legal studies would be the basis of a successful career in the Prussian civil service. Their correspondence during this period reveals Heinrich Marx's early and quite thorough dissatisfaction with "the wild rampaging in Bonn." (p. 50) By letter, Marx apprised his father of his literary ventures: and, though

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periodically sympathetic, the elder Marx remained skeptical of literature and criticism as a mode of personal advancement: "You have taken up the drama, and there is certainly much truth in it," he wrote in the spring of 1837, "but connected with its importance, with its great public notoriety, there is the danger of failure." (p. 53) And somewhat later, having reached the limits of his tolerance, Marx's father wrote: "I can only address one wish to heaven, that somehow or other you will get as quickly as possible to your true goal." (p. 57)

The discussion of Marx's early literary career, despite its interest, is still too cursory. Though Demetz's critical analyses of Marx's creative efforts are competent, they lack depth and completeness. And too little of the original texts are included. More importantly, the author does not even suggest the crucial significance of Marx's early literary interests on the imaginative and essentially dramatic structure and style of his later thought.

The central limitations of Demetz's work derive neither from the overambitious scope nor from the distorted shape of the book, but rather from the author's tireless and unremitting hostility to Marxism. As a Czech refugee working for Radio Free Europe, Demetz probably articulated his emotional rejection of Marxism in the crude, simplistic categories employed by that organization. And if subsequent doctoral study at Yale helped him develop a more cautious attitude toward the complexities of literary history and theory, he nevertheless speaks of Marxism mainly in the Voice of America tradition. Demetz's hostility to his subject almost wholly frustrates his purpose of enriching our understanding of Marx's and Engels' attitudes toward literature. Instead of enrichment, he usually produces caricature. For example, he defines Marx's character mainly through a series of brief and recurrent epithets which gradually convey the impression of a static caricature—Marx emerges as the "rigid," "dogmatic" intellect driven by a "vehement," "passionate," "quarrelsome," and "ruthless" temperament. On the basis of these several characteristics, Demetz constructs the intellectual and political development of an overambitious man unable to maintain friendships with anyone except Engels, his devoted and submissive follower.

Once set in motion, the caricatures behave with monotonous predictability. Pressing the welter of historical and biographical evidence into his narrow set of categories, Demetz reconstructs Marx's and Engels' "motives" with all the confidence and boldness

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of a comic-strip writer. The author suggests that in every transaction with literary contemporaries, Marx and Engels acted primarily from base political and personal motives. When a writer or critic ceased to be politically useful, they would immediately (and ruthlessly) cast him aside: "Herwegh had played out his hand politically; neither Marx nor the League had any use for political bankrupts, however heroic their motives might be." (p. 89)

Demetz's personal bias also forces him into a contradictory logic. He most frequently portrays Marx and Engels as almost wholly derivative and unoriginal thinkers who borrow their formulations from others. (At times, the reader half suspects that Demetz may be preparing a libel suit against them.) The author labors to show that all of Marx's important ideas of the 1840's were stolen from such thinkers as Hegel, Moses Hess, and Feuerbach. Marx emerges as a kind of ventriloquist, the victim of a strict intellectual determinism. Although Demetz often lacks historical evidence to sketch in the details of his determinism, he never loses faith in his preconceptions: "It is difficult to tell whence the philosophical impulses came and how; around the turn of the year from 1843 to 1844, they began to unite in the changed thought of the young philosopher." (p. 60) But as soon as Marx strikes out on his own, he is, in Demetz's judgment, defeated by his own rigid mentality. When in *The German Ideology* (1844) Marx and Engels offer their first approximation of the relationships between consciousness and social reality, Demetz comments: "Feuerbach's idea of man as a producer threatens to lose a significant portion of its universal validity. . . ." (p. 65) And finally, Demetz classifies the remaining insights which are neither imitations nor parodies as commonplaces. Thus, he admits that Engels may have been moved by the dehumanizing spectacle of working-class life in England, but "he was by no means the only observer who was shaken by the misery of the English industrial quarters. At that time there was hardly a sensitive traveler who did not send home wrathful and despairing letters from Manchester and Liverpool. . . ." (p. 37)

If the author's bias against Marxism mars the biographical sections of the book, his theoretical confusions reduce the remaining parts of the volume to little more than a scandalous example of the way Marxism has been burlesqued in postwar American literary study. Two major, interrelated theoretical errors ramify throughout the book—the assumptions that the Marxism of Marx and Engels was essentially a strict, mechanical determinism; and

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that literature ought to be considered a wholly autonomous realm of human activity. Demetz rests his analysis of the "mature" thought of Marx and Engels primarily upon a very few passages from *The German Ideology,* the Foreword to the *Critique of Political Economy,* and from Engels' correspondence of the 1890's. He employs the familiar objection that Marx reduces man's consciousness—and hence his literature—to "an epiphenomenon on the upper surface of the universe; the wordless deed alone reaches the economic heart of existence." (p. 46) In the 1840's and 1850's, according to Demetz, Marx and Engels moved toward a focal point of the most rigid "economic determinism," expressed in the Foreword to the *Critique of Political Economy* (1859). Demetz writes:

> In the *Deutsche Ideologie* it was at least still a question whether and to what extent the active man could change the economic order and with it the corresponding forms of intellect and the artistic imagination; in the Foreword man lost all significance as an individual. Here Marx spoke exclusively of economic foundations, productive relationships, and an intellectual superstructure; between the economic necessity and the shadowy chaos of the intellectual superstructure the creative intellect of individual man has hardly a chance. He cannot do more than take note of the distant tremors of the economic bedrock. (p. 73)

Obviously, no one who holds to this caricature of economic determinism could have anything significant to say about literary theory and criticism.

Not all of the facts, however, escape the author's attention. He suggests that Marx and Engels occasionally doubted their dogmas, struggling to escape the imprisoning deterministic implications of their theory. Thus, in addition to considering the "dogmatic formulation" in the Foreword to the *Critique,* Demetz also discusses the important fragment on Greek art written two years earlier in which Marx states that "In the case of art it is well known that certain flourishing periods by no means stand in a direct relationship to the general development of society, that is, to the material foundation, as it were, of the organizational skeleton." Commenting on this passage, Demetz suggests that "With rare frankness [Marx] admitted the contradictions that necessarily resulted from an overly rigid application of his theory to the concrete wealth of art and literature." (p. 68) It might be more appropriate to speak of the contradictions that necessarily result from an inability to understand Marx's thought!

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After passing over the major works of Marx and Engels in silence, Demetz examines Engels' final attempts to clarify the popular misinterpretations and reductions of Marxist positions through his correspondence in the early 1890's. "In contrast to Marx," Demetz writes, "Engels . . . unfolds in the intellectual superstructure a finely organized system of differentiated spheres; and he attempts to replace the compact chaos of the superstructure as it appears in earlier explanations with a surprisingly structured order that in each of its fields possesses a certain undeniable autonomy." (p. 143) Demetz might have spared himself a "surprise" had he read the 1859 Foreword more carefully: "With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such transformations the distinction should always be made between the material transformation of economic conditions of production which can be determined with the precision of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic, or philosophic—in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out."

In any case, according to Demetz, the "revisions" came too late to allow the founders of Marxism to discuss literature seriously. Three decades after the 1859 Foreword, Demetz concludes, "Engels found himself forced to declare that in its analysis of reality dialectical materialism must take into consideration an 'infinite number of accidents.' Once again there is a hesitant glance in the direction of a world of nuance, of indeterminability, of freedom." (p. 144) Ironically, these clarifications were not only lost on most of his contemporaries, but also on Demetz who ought to have quoted Engels' letter to Joseph Bloch (1890) in more detail: "According to the materialist conception of history the determining element in history is *ultimately* the production and reproduction in real life. More than this neither Marx nor I have ever asserted. If therefore somebody twists this into the statement that the economic element is the *only* determining one, he transforms it into a meaningless, abstract, and absurd phrase." Demetz would have the reader believe that the major works of Marx and Engels rest largely upon an absurd theoretical perspective. He thus squanders the majority of his theoretical energy on his straw man of "rigid economic determinism."

This gross parody of 19th-century Marxist theory not only implies its uselessness as a perspective on literature, but its funda-

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mental hostility to all forms of culture. For, according to Demetz, Marx's "strict determinism" denies freedom to the individual creator, and hence value to his creations. And since literature plays no relevant role in historical change, Marx, the single-minded theorist and political activist, ruthlessly subordinates literature to political and personal ends.

To complete the elaborate attempt to discredit Marxism, Demetz must finally separate from Marx's theory his personal admiration of Greek art and his devotion to Shakespeare, Goethe, and Balzac. Demetz writes that "in Marx's and Engels' written remarks on Shakespeare one will look in vain for the slightest trace of economic determinism." (p. 153) They always spoke of Shakespeare "with the same unchanging, ardent, completely non-political admiration." (p. 153) (And I think it is fair to assume that Demetz would have brought any traces of political admiration of literature to the reader's attention.) But these lapses into good literary taste, Demetz argues, occur in spite of Marxist theory: "Engels was prepared to submit his personal taste and judgment to the dictates of the times and to enjoy such literature as political theory required [his 'completely non-political admiration' of Shakespeare turns up nearly thirty pages later]; Marx, however, remained true to his favorite authors and to Greek art against his own theory. In matters of literary taste Marx was by no means a Marxist." (p. 127) Thus Demetz closes his analytic net on Marx and Engels as literary theorists, allowing only the central problems and possibilities which they raised to get away.

Demetz's second fatal assumption—that art and literature constitute completely autonomous spheres of human activity—enables him to remove any lingering doubts about the potential value of Marxism to literary study. Having argued that Marx and Engels vacillate between granting and denying *relative* autonomy to literature, Demetz finally excludes them from the entire field of serious literary theory by assuming a strict cultural indeterminism, the mirror image of what he calls "strict economic determinism."

Demetz thus brings together the standard American myths and clichés about Marxism and literary criticism. Had he used Marxist perspectives rather than abusing them, he might have been able to inaugurate a reassessment of the significant contributions of Marxist critics to the study of literature. Instead, he tries to bury the very intellectual tradition which could restore a balance between aesthetic and extra-aesthetic components of literary analy-

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sis. By dismissing Marxism, however, he precludes the possibility of *explaining* why literary criticism in the American academy has become essentially an apolitical and ahistorical attempt to preserve culture by detaching it from a hostile and indifferent social and historical context. The effort is futile, for it transforms those who would nurture a vital culture into curators of lifeless artifacts.

Demetz cannot delineate the complex and subtle relationships between literature and history. And he is unable to comprehend the artist's simultaneous needs to involve himself in the political and historical movements of his time while avoiding direct political interference with his work. More importantly, Demetz fails to realize that literary critics can only pretend to be removed from the political realities of their own time. His pretentions to objectivity and critical detachment do not prevent him from writing a terribly "political" book which bears the representative scars and distortions of postwar American studies of Marxism and literary criticism. He answers the mechanical, reductive apologists for Marxism in their own terms. And in the process of this dumb-show, the chief problems and potential values of Marxism to literary study remain largely unexplored.

Our literature will survive without, and perhaps in spite of, its academic guardians. The principal challenge to the literary critic of the 1960's is not the preservation of literature but the development of a people capable of responding to it. The task of restoring a human culture is therefore mainly a political one. It will not be accomplished by English majors who receive a B.A. only to become aesthetically sensitive soldiers in the American counter-revolution. Nor will it be accomplished by critics who neglect the connections between literature and history. We must first understand who—and what—rules America before we can begin to comprehend why our serious literature remains locked in glass cases. And so far, no one has suggested a better place to begin than with Marx.

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CORRESPONDENCE

THREE STAGES OF REVOLUTION

The following letter is from Pierre Vallières, one of the leaders of the *Front de Libération Québecoise,* the revolutionary nationalist organization of French Canada. Pierre Vallières, whose article, "Quebec: Nationalism and the Working Class," appeared in MR in February 1965, is serving a life sentence in Montreal for his political activities in favor of an independent and socialist Quebec. The "Charles" to whom he refers in the first paragraph is Charles Gagnon, another leader of the FLQ, who is also in prison awaiting trial in connection with the same events.

I have read in its entirety the summer issue of MONTHLY REVIEW devoted to Régis Debray and the Latin American Revolution. I am in accord with the criticisms expressed there of some of Debray's strategic and ideological theses. Charles and I had reached the same conclusions.

However, we are not in agreement with the contributors to the issue in one respect: we do not think that an analysis and criticism of society should *precede* action but that this analysis and this criticism should *accompany* action, should be a part of it. Theory and practice must remain indivisible. The intellectual must be a man of action, and the man of action must be a theorist.

I believe, furthermore, that in order to reason correctly one must be immersed in direct action, especially when it is a matter of defining a strategy. In my opinion MR, in criticizing essays such as Debray's (and in doing this MR carries out a very necessary job) should advocate even more strongly the unity of intellectual labors and revolutionary practice. It should also reject outright the erroneous assumption that a correct analysis of social classes must necessarily precede revolutionary action.

As I have said above, experience and history prove that theory is the product of action, just as action is the product of analyses of social reality. The dialectic of theory-action must, moreover, be a continuing process; we cease to be revolutionaries when we divorce—consciously or not—theory from action or action from theory. I believe that this position is genuinely Marxist-Leninist.

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Debray has made the error of divorcing action from an analysis of social classes and of imperialism, and this has led to aberrations on the level of both practice and theory.

Certain MR contributors, and intellectuals in general, fall into the reverse error and risk entrapment in a certain impotence on the level of action; they place too much emphasis on "science" and risk lapsing into a kind of "scientism." I should like very much to see MR sponsor a debate among men of action and intellectuals on this question.

I was most impressed by Cléa Silva's article, which coincides most closely with the positions taken by the *Front de Libération Québecoise* (FLQ). Some people have reproached the FLQ for wanting to precipitate armed struggle, or even for having already undertaken *military* actions against the established order. Such people understand nothing.

The FLQ foresees *three* strategic *stages* to be passed through before the people's war is transformed into another Vietnam:

(1) The first stage is that of radicalization of the spontaneous social agitation of the masses by means of armed propaganda, and by acts of sabotage selected for their *political* significance. This stage is characterized (just as in present-day Brazil) by the setting off of bombs, the kidnapping of political personalities, by demonstrations, strikes, etc., and also by an intense underground labor of political and military education of activists, the organization of training bases and hideouts, and eventually (perhaps) of guerrillas, the implantation of solid revolutionary nuclei in trade unions, youth movements, etc., the structuring of a vast *popular* movement, underground at first, but committed to emergence from clandestinity as soon as the development of the struggle permits. During this first stage the revolutionary movement remains a minority organization, but an extremely active one. In Quebec this activity must at first be carried out principally in an urban milieu, and urban guerrilla tactics must be tested and perfected. In a word, revolutionary action during this early stage must be principally, if not exclusively, *political*. Bombs themselves perform a political job.

(2) The second stage is that of organization of the masses, of their conscious integration within the framework of the revolutionary movement. This second stage coincides with mass political strikes, large street demonstrations, the spreading of repression, the obstruction of so-called democratic outlets. All work must then be

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carried out with armed insurrection of the masses as the direct objective.

(3) The third stage is that of the insurrection proper and of the real beginning of the "military phase" of the revolutionary struggle.

This outline, I think, corresponds closely enough to those strategic theses defined by Marxist-Leninist revolutionaries since the beginning of the century which have been successfully applied, particularly in China, Vietnam, and even (in spite of what is sometimes said) in Cuba.

In Quebec we are still in the first stage, but for the past two years we have been taking long strides toward the second stage. That is why the greatest concern of the Quebec revolutionaries is the structuring of the revolutionary movement, a structuring which currently lags behind the objective evolution of the world situation and relationship of forces.

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(*Continued from inside front cover*)

In the world's struggle against capitalism and imperialism, there has been neither an argument nor an event which has not found in the works of Huberman and Sweezy an interpretation of high intellectual caliber and painstaking lucidity."

Monthly Review Press was founded in 1952 as the result of an accidental meeting in Central Park between the editors and I. F. Stone, who told them that he had written a book but, in that era of McCarthyism, could not get a publisher. This was the genesis of Monthly Review Press, and its first title was I. F. Stone's *The Hidden History of the Korean War*. Mr. Huberman directed the Press through the next fifteen years, during which time it enlarged its annual list from a few titles to its present 25 per year, while at the same time co-editing the magazine, writing prolifically himself, and filling many speaking engagements each year.

Mr. Huberman was the author of many books. His *Man's Worldly Goods* (Harper, 1936), which *The New Yorker* called the "most successful attempt to date to humanize the Dismal Science and link the history of man to the history of economic theory," sold more than 500,000 copies in the United States and many times that number in translations into many languages. *We, the People* (Harper, 1932), a history of the United States, was called "unique and stimulating . . . stirring and thrilling" by *The New York Times*. *The Labor Spy Racket,* published by Modern Age in 1937 as one of the first paperbacks in modern American trade publishing, sold 50,000 copies in its first two weeks, something which *The New York Herald Tribune* called a "phenomenon" for a book about labor.

Mr. Huberman visited Cuba many times after the Revolution, became closely acquainted with Fidel Castro, Che Guevara, and other leaders, and with Paul Sweezy wrote two books: *Cuba: Anatomy of a Revolution,* which C. Wright Mills called the best book on Cuba, and which has sold 40,000 copies in the United States and many more in translation; and *Socialism in Cuba,* the manuscript of which he and Sweezy completed just before his death and which is scheduled for publication in the spring of 1969. The Press is the publisher of Che Guevara, Régis Debray, Frantz Fanon, and many other important modern revolutionaries.

In all, Mr. Huberman wrote or co-authored 11 books, co-edited 6 books with Paul Sweezy, and wrote hundreds of magazine articles and pamphlets.

Mr. Huberman traveled widely, and had a vast number of friends in academic and socialist circles throughout the world, not only in Europe, but in India, Japan and China. His friendships ranged from internationally famous writers like Harold Laski, K. S. Karol, Isaac Deutscher, and Peter Weiss, to obscure young students, some of whom were to become heads of state and government ministers in the wave of independence movements that swept Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

Leo Huberman was born in Newark, New Jersey, on October 17, 1903. He studied at New York University and at the London School of Economics. From 1922 to 1933 he taught in public and private schools in Newark and in New York City, and in 1934-1935 was associate editor of *Scholastic* magazine. In 1938 he was appointed chairman of the department of social sciences at New College, Columbia University. Two years later he became labor editor of the newspaper *PM* and thereafter was a columnist for the magazine *U. S. Week*. From 1942 to 1945 he was director of public relations and education for the National Maritime Union, where he is credited with having built a model educational department, and from 1945 to 1946 he was a book editor with Reynal & Hitchcock.

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